

THE
WARS

BETWIXT

Sueden and Denmark.

Before and after the

ROSCHILD TREATY:

WITH

The Counsels and Measures by which
those Actions were directed :

Together with

A View of the *Suedish* and other Affairs, as
they stood in *Germany* in the year 1675.
with Relation to *England*.

Written by

Sir PHILIP MEADOW, Knight, and
found in the Library of the Right Honourable
GEORGE late Earl of Bristol.

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FOR
The Right Honourable
THE
EARL of BRISTOL.

MY LORD,

I Esteem it as a singular favour and honour that your Lordship thinks me capable of giving you any information concerning the Northern Affairs; the Scene of your Lordships many eminent Employments and Actions having been laid nearer the warm Sun. The Draught I have here sent was made several years since, and only communicated in private with
A 2 some

The Epistle Dedicatory.

some friends: In the composing
whereof I was not a little advantaged
by being a spectator of the Actions,
and privy to some of the Counsels of
both Kings. But how far I have
answered those advantages in the en-
suing Narrative I submit to your
Lordship's Censure, and remain

MY LORD,

YOUR LORDSHIP'S

Most humble and

Obedient Servant,

Philip Meadowe.

Parham in
Suff. Sep. 24.
1675.

A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
PRINCIPAL ACTIONS
Occurring in the
WARS
BETWIXT
SWEDEN and DENMARK.
Before and after the
ROSCHILD TREATY.

With the Counsels and measures by which
those Actions were directed:

THE ancient Emulation
and jealousies betwixt the
two Crowns of Sweden
and Denmark, occasioned by their
near Neighbourhood and fre-
quent Wars, have been still
heightned and promoted by the
late

late Conquests the Crown of
Sueden has made in *Germany*. By
 which the *Suede* enlarging his
 Dominion beyond the *Baltic* to
 those goodly possessions of *Pome-*
ren and *Bremen*, has betwixt his
 ancient Patrimony on one side,
 and his new acquisitions on the
 other, as it were enclosed and
 beleaguered *Denmark*. The fa-
 tal effects of a *Suedish* Power
 established on this side the *Bal-*
tic, the *Dane* experimented in the
 year 1643. in the Reign of *Chri-*
stiern the fourth, when upon oc-
 casion of some differences arising
 betwixt the two Crowns in rela-
 tion to the commerce and navi-
 gation of each others subjects,
 and the new impositions exacted
 by the *Dane* in the *Sound*, Queen
Christina

Christina without any previous denunciation of War sent secret Orders to General *Torstenfon*, who at that time commanded the *Suedish* Army in *Germany*, to invade therewith the *Danish* Dominions, which that wise General performed with such secrecy and diligence, that the first intelligence of his attempt was brought to *Copenhagen* by the ordinary post, advertising how the *Suede* was entred *Holstein* with an Hostile Army. In that war the *Dane* lost *Halland*, *Fempterland*, *Gothland* and the *Oesel*. For though *Halland* by the Treaty at *Broonsborow* was not formally alienated from the Crown of *Denmark*, as it was in the succeeding *Roschild* Treaty, but only mortgaged

late Conquests the Crown of *Sueden* has made in *Germany*. By which the *Suede* enlarging his Dominion beyond the *Baltic* to those goodly possessions of *Pome- ren* and *Bremen*, has betwixt his ancient Patrimony on one side, and his new acquisitions on the other, as it were enclosed and beleaguered *Denmark*. The fatal effects of a *Suedish* Power established on this side the *Baltic*, the *Dane* experimented in the year 1643. in the Reign of *Christiern* the fourth, when upon occasion of some differences arising betwixt the two Crowns in relation to the commerce and navigation of each others subjects, and the new impositions exacted by the *Dane* in the *Sound*, Queen *Christina*

Christina without any previous denunciation of War sent secret Orders to General *Torstenſon*, who at that time commanded the *Sueſiſh* Army in *Germany*, to invade therewith the *Daniſh* Dominions, which that wiſe General performed with ſuch ſecrecy and diligence, that the firſt intelligence of his attempt was brought to *Copenhagen* by the ordinary poſt, advertiſing how the *Suede* was entred *Holſtein* with an Hoſtile Army. In that war the *Dane* loſt *Halland*, *Fempterland*, *Gothland* and the *Oeſel*. For though *Halland* by the Treaty at *Broonsborow* was not formally alienated from the Crown of *Denmark*, as it was in the ſucceeding *Roschild* Treaty, but only mortga-

ged or leased to *Sueden* for thirty years; lest the reputation of *Denmark* should seem too much prostituted by the utter abscission and dismembring of so considerable a Province from that Crown; yet was it such a mortgage as in truth did amount to an absolute cession or alienation; For the term of years when expired was made renewable from thirty to thirty, till the *Suede* should receive an equivalent for *Halland* to his own liking and satisfaction.

A Peace being thus reestablished in the year 1644. by the Treaty made at *Broomsborow* upon the Frontier of both Kingdoms, things continued quiet betwixt the two Crowns for
some

some years, till the late *Charles Gustavus* King of *Sueden* in the year 1655. imbarquing himself in a war against *Poland*, transported thither the choicest of the *Suedish* souldiery to serve in that expedition; where that martial King carried all before him; but grasped at more than he could well enclose, and conquered more than he could reasonably hope to keep, till at length old *Zarnetsky* makes head against him with a powerful body of horse, and by his example the newly submitted Provinces revolt as quickly from their new Lord, insomuch that the *Suede* was imbarass'd on all sides, and his affairs in great decadency.

This conjuncture gratified the

Dane, who thought his turn was now come to retaliate upon the *Suede*, and hoped by the favour of this opportunity to regain what he had lost in the former surprises. And to give the better colour of justice to his Arms, lest it should be thought he was rather invited thereto by the advantage of the occasion, then constrained by the cause of any new provocations or injuries, open war is solemnly proclaimed against *Sueden* by the antiquated formalities of a Herald. Besides public letters and manifests are sent abroad to satisfy foreign Princes and States, and to vindicate the Right of his undertaking.

The truth is, the Party was not

ill

ill concerted, for the *Brandenburger* was already drawn off from the *Suedish* Alliance, and upon good assurance given him from the *Polish* Court, that the Sovereignty of the Ducal *Prussia* should be conferred upon him (which he accordingly now enjoys) He confederated himself with the *Pole* and *Dane* against *Sueden*. The *Hollander* also was of the party, though as yet but covertly, and great sums of money were advanced by *Amsterdam* and the trading Companies (for they would not have it seem the Act of the States but of private persons) by way of loan to the King of *Denmark* upon securities of the Customs in the *Sound* and *Norway*.

The

The *Dane* raised a considerable Army of about fifteen or sixteen thousand men well appointed, rendezvous'd them in *Holstein*, from thence passed the *Elb*, besieged and took *Bremerford* a Town belonging to the *Suede* in the Bishoprick of *Bremen*. But here some military men took the freedom to blame the *Danish* Conduct. For had he carried the war on the other side of the *Baltic*, entred *Sueden* it self, at that time disfurnished of her principal Officers and Souldiers, her King being absent in a remote Countrey, reported to be dead, the very terrour of an invading Army might have wrought such consternation in the minds of the people, as probably

ably to have given the *Dane* an opportunity of advancing the war as high as *Stockholm*. But he on the contrary attacks the *Sue-dish* Dominions in *Germany*, thereby alarming friends as well as enemies : For the Princes of the nether *Saxon* Circle entring into a combination declare this invasion of the *Bishoprick* to be a breach of the Peace of the Empire, and a violation of the *Instrumentum Pacis* concluded at *Munster*, for the observation whereof they stood reciprocally Engaged.

Thus, not waging war in good earnest, the *Dane* by middle Counsels lost his opportunity, for whilst his Army stood at a gaze not well knowing which way

way to take, the King of Sweden
 marches with all imaginable
 speed from *Poland*, and laying all
 in ashes behind him to secure
 his rear from the infal of the *Po-*
lish horse, and leaving strong
 Garrisons in *Thorren*, *Marienburg*,
Elbing and some other Towns in
Prussia, passes through *Pomeren*
 and marches directly for *Hol-*
stein and *Jutland*. It was generally
 conceived that now, if ever, the
Dane would have fought him
 harassed and tired as he was with
 a tedious march. But the new
 Levies durst not adventure the
 shock with veteran Troups, used
 to fight and used to conquer.
 The *Danish* Army plies and
 yields ground before the *Suede*
 without fighting, who pursues
 his

his point and increases in numbers as he does in fame, all things favouring the victorious. The Danes diminishing as fast gave back till they came to *Fredericsode* in *Jutland*, where they sheltered the remainder of their Infantry, having left Garrisons behind them in *Gluckstad*, *Cremp* and *Rensburg*. The Horse were transported into *Fumen* an Island opposite to *Fredericsode*, so that the *Suede* was left absolute Master of the Campagne, and possessed of the convenient quarters of *Holstein* and *Jutland*. Some of the Inhabitants conveyed the richest part of their goods to *Wensussel* an Island on the North of *Jutland*, and to *Samsoe*, another near adjoyning Isle, both which

which became soon after prize to the Victors.

Fredericfode was now besieged by General *Wrangel*, a new Town endowed with a large Charter of Privileges to invite dwellers and Trade, fortified according to the modern way with Bastions, false bray, and ditch, but the works not fully finished. The Circumvallations describe a bow or semicircle, and the little *Belt* running by it, the chord.

To the *Belt*-side it was not fortified at all, no more than by the water and channel, only the two bastions upon the two extremities of the semicircle were set as far into the bed of the River as conveniently they could be,

be, and then from the corner of each bastion a strong palisade was run into the River as far as deep water. *Wrangel* so far profited of the security of his Enemy, or the treachery of some correspondents, that he found means in a dark night to cut asunder those Palisades, and making two false attacks in two other places to amuse and distract them within, and rushing on at the same time with a prepared body of Horse and Foot up to the saddle-skirts in water, wheel'd about the Bastion and entred the Fort. Had there been but an ordinary work along the bank of the River from one Bastion to another, or a body of men drawn up in Battalia to receive.

ceive the Enemy upon the file, he must of necessity have taken the water again; But there was neither of these. The Governor was a Grave Senatour of the Kingdom, but no experienced souldier, only justified his fidelity to the King his Master by dying upon the place, and was accompanied by about four thousand more, who were either slain or taken prisoners. Some time after, a Lieutenant and a Corporal who had served in *Fredricsode*, and were afterwards surpris'd by the *Dane* in the *Suedish Quarters*, were publickly executed at *Copenhagen*, as those who had traiterously betrayed the place. But whether their Crime was really such, or that they

they otherwaies criminal were made use of as a sacrifice to appease the angry Citizens enraged at the loss of *Fredericfode*, is uncertain.

Thus we have posted the *Suede* in that important Fortrefs, which bearing the name of the then King of *Denmark*, and thus unhappily taken, might seem as it were to presage by an inauspicious omen the succeeding misfortunes which involved that King : We will leave him there a while Master of the Continent, and the *Dane* retreated to his Islands : And having thus far drawn down the general scheme of the military affairs, let us step back a little to take a short survey

vey of the civil transactions contemporary with the former.

England had too great an Interest in the *Baltic*, (the *Mediterranean* of the North) to sit still without making reflection upon those commotions in the Northern Kingdoms. For besides the general concerns of a free Trade, which of necessity must have suffered interruption by the continuance of this War, *England* being at that time Engaged in a War with one branch of the *Austrian* family, viz. with *Spain*, would rather the *Suedish* Arms had been at liberty to give check to the other branch in *Germany* as occasion might offer, then to be diverted therefrom by a war with *Denmark*. Two Gentle-
men

men are sent over to endeavour a reconciliation betwixt both Kings, Mr. *Meadowe* who was dispatched to the *Danish* Court, arrived there in *September*, 1657. much about the time the *Suede* entred *Jutland*. His business was to remonstrate how unwelcome it was to them in *England* to understand of a Rupture betwixt the two Crowns, albeit they esteemed the communication thereof by the Letters and Manifest of that King as an expression of friendship. That besides the effusion of Christian blood betwixt two Nations linked together by the common bonds of Nature and Religion, and both of them leagued in Amity with *England*, the continuation

tinuation of that War might in
 so perilous a juncture considera-
 bly endanger the whole Prote-
 stant Cause and Interest ; and no-
 thing could have happened more
 advantageous to *Spain*, with
 whom *England* was in open Ho-
 stility. Besides his Majesty of
Denmark could not but be sensi-
 ble how much the freedom of
 Navigation and Commerce in
 the *Baltic* would be impeached
 thereby, to the prejudice of the
 Neighbouring Nations , but of
 none more than *England*, as con-
 tinually fetching Naval Stores
 from those Countries. He was
 therefore sent on the part of *Eng-
 land* to that King to offer the
 best and most friendly offices for
 accommodating all differences be-

twixt

twixt the two Crowns, and putting a stop to so unhappy a War, and to assure him that they would imploy their utmost Interest with the King of *Sueden* to dispose him thereto, and to that purpose had already sent a Gentleman to Him. And that if this their tendred Mediation were accepted, they would in the management thereof deal impartially, and endeavour that the Peace once reestablished might for the future be inviolably observed.

To this Proposal the King of *Denmark* returned Answer in writing under his Seal and Signature, bearing date *September* the twenty fifth, 1657. Declaring that the care of *England* for

for the tranquillity of his Kingdoms, the freedom of public commerce, and quieting all differences, was gratefully accepted by him. And that he was ready to enter upon a Treaty of a sure and Honourable Peace under the mediation of *England*. And so soon as the King of *Sueden* should testifie a suitable concurrence on his part, he would further declare himself as to time, place and other the Preliminaries to an ensuing Treaty.

This Declaration was transmitted to the King of *Sueden* with all possible diligence, and drew from him a Reply dated at *Wismar*, *October* the nineteenth, 1657. In which after many Expostulations

tions how injuriously he had been dealt with by the *Dane*, intermixed with some language which the *Dane* resented as reproachful, he declares likewise his consent to enter upon a Treaty under the mediation of *France* and *England*. And that the Preliminaries as to place of Treating, number of Commissioners, safe Conducts, &c. should be adjusted according to the transaction betwixt the two Crowns in the year 1644. Provided that safe conducts in due form be without delay delivered to the Mediators, and a reasonable time prefixed by the King of *Denmark* for meeting of the Commissioners.

This Reply of the *Suede* being
 B commu-

communicated to the King of *Denmark*, produced from him another Declaration of the third of *November*, 1657. That he also consents to the Transactions in forty four, only as to the place of the future Treaty he conceives *Lubec* or some other Town in that Neighbourhood to be most commodious. That the Treaty commence under the mediation of *England*, and of the States General of the *United Provinces*. And so soon as *France* should Offer him their mediation, he would accept thereof. And that the designed Peace be not restrained to the two Crowns of *Denmark* and *Sueden*, but the King of *Poland* and Elector of *Brandenburg* be comprehended in the

the same. These things being first accorded by His Majesty of *Sueden*, that he was ready to deliver his safe conducts into the hands of the Mediators.

It was easie to foresee how this comprehension of the *Pole* insisted on by the *Dane* would trouble the whole scene of Affairs, which consideration put the *English* Mediator upon excepting against it as a new proposal forrain to the present question. How that the mediation of *England* was offered only betwixt the two Crowns, and so accepted by his Majesty of *Denmark* without any mention of *Poland*. How that this would render the so much desired Peace tedious and difficult, if not im-

possible, for that the differences betwixt *Sueden* and *Denmark* were a sudden distemper easily cured if taken in time, but those betwixt *Sueden* and *Poland* were in the nature of an inveterate malady, harder by much to be eradicated. That the Great Seal of *Poland* by which the Ministers of that Crown must be Commissionated as Plenipotentiaries for a Treaty, was engraven with the Arms of *Sueden*, which that King would never admit of.

However this second Declaration of the King of *Denmark* of the third of *November* was sent to the King of *Sueden*, and begat another from him of the seventh of *December* dated at *Wismar*, wherein he declares himself not
satisfied

satisfied with the nomination of *Lubec* for the place of Treaty, as being a recession from the Customs anciently practised betwixt the two Kingdoms, and the regulation agreed on in the year 1644. that when occasional differences arose betwixt the two Crowns, the Commissioners of both sides should meet upon the Frontiers for adjusting thereof with the more speed. Moreover He takes notice of the conquisite delays and difficulties made by the *Dane* in intermixing other controversies with his own, and which have no reference to the *Danish* War. Yet notwithstanding he was willing to grant safe conducts to such Confederates of the *Dane*, as should testifie a

desire of being present at a Treaty in any place of the confines. And as for the States General, after their ratification of the Treaty made by their own Ambassadors at *Elbing*, whereby the friendship betwixt *Sueden* and them is renewed; He would so declare himself on their behalf, in case they offer him their mediation for composing this War, as should sufficiently prevent any just occasion of complaint.

To this the King of *Denmark* rejoyn'd another Answer of the twenty seventh of *Decemb.* 1657. insisting upon the immediate admission of the States General to the mediation, without suspending it upon the previous Act of first ratifying the *Elbing* Treaty,

Treaty, a point which had been depending twelve months, and was like to be longer. Adheres to the place formerly nominated by him for assembling the Commissioners. And that the *Pole* and *Brandenburger* should not only have a bare license of being present at the Treaty, but that the respective Treaties to be had with them as Confederates and Principals with the *Dane* in the same War, should proceed by the same gradations and measures as that with *Denmark*.

The truth is, in the reasoning and debate concerning the place of meeting there was a secret drift on both sides, unexpressed by either. The *Dane* would have it at *Lubec* or any other neutral

place in *Germany*, convenient for the *Pole* and *Brandenburger* to be there present as parties with him, whereby to have the opportunity of strengthening each the others hand by a communication of Councils, and concerting of Affairs to the promoting of a common Interest. On the other hand the *Suede* would have it on the frontiers over the *Baltic*, whither the *Pole* and *Brandenburger* could not with any reasonable convenience come, designing thereby to disunite the Confederates by the jealousy of a separate Treaty. And perhaps might at the same time have treated openly with the *Dane*, and underhand with the *Pole*, and they two striving to prevent each

each other in the Peace, for fear of being deserted each by other in the War, where he found most advantageous conditions granted him, there conclude Peace and prosecute the War against the other.

To prevent this the *English* Mediator endeavoured to draw from the King of *Sueden* a previous intimation on what terms and conditions he would rest satisfied, in case the King of *Denmark* would condescend to a separate Treaty; That so when the Commissioners came to meet they might have nothing more to doe then to digest the several Articles into form to be signed and sealed, and so the business effected before the rumor of a

B 5 Treaty

Treaty divulged; And likewise partly to facilitate the way of an Agreement, and partly to foretaste the temper of Affairs, some Conditions were insinuated of the following nature.

A general Amnesty of what was past. Restitution of places taken each upon other. A solemn Renewal under good Garranties of the Treaty in 1644. A redress of Grievances relating to Trade. And a way ascertained for better prevention of all defraudations in the Sound, the pretended cause of the War on the Danish part.

And to incline the King of Denmark to disjoin his Interests from Poland, it was represented by the Mediator, what a broken reed Poland had hitherto proved

to him. Sometimes making proffer to pass their forces over the *Oder*, then presently retreating upon pretence of joining the *Austrian* foot, not so much as entering *Pomeran* all this while to give the *Suedish* Army a diversion, who lay securely quartered in *Holstein* and *Jutland*. That the Conditions of the Alliance were mutual and reciprocal, which not being performed on the *Polish* part, His Majesty of *Denmark* was no longer obliged. That Confederacies were for mutual safety, and not intended to oblige Princes to their Ruine, either singly or in company with others. That he had the fresh Example of his Heroic Father of happy memory, who
 though

though he had entred into an Alliance with the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, yet the necessity of his Affairs to recover what was lost, and secure what was left, constrained him to make a Peace with the Emperor in the year 1629. exclusive of his Allies.

But neither did these Reasons prevail with the King of *Denmark* to depart from his Alliance with the *Pole*, till a more cogent necessity extorted afterwards from him a separate Treaty. Nor was the King of *Sueden* willing to anticipate the business of his Commissioners by preceedaneous intimations of his Demands. Nor to content himself as to the terms and conditions
of

of the Peace with less than an honourable amends for the wrong done him. But in his jolly way of expression, since the *Dane* had led him so long a dance from *Poland* to *Jutland*, he was resolved, at least to make him pay the fiddlers.

Thus the War of the Cabinet was managed by missives and memorials, but that of the field was carried on in a smarter manner. The extraordinary violent frost was by this time encreased to such a degree, that the little *Belt* which divides *Jutland* from the Isle of *Funen* was so intensely frozen, as suggested to the *Swedish* King an Enterprize (full of hazard but not disagreeable to a fearless mind edg'd with Ambition)

tion) of marching over the ice into *Funen*, with horse, foot and Cannon. Some little skirmishings there were upon the shoar of the Island, if it may be called a shoar where there was no longer Sea, and the *Dane* had in the most commodious landing places made large cuts in the Ice, which were soon congeled again though with a softer crust. Into one of these a small division of about forty *Suedish* Horse with a Cornet unwarily fell, and were there swallowed up. Major General *Henderson* a *Scotch* man was posted at *Middlefar* with a Body of men, but upon the *Suedes* approach deserted his station, for which he was after in great danger of a Council of War,

War, had not the *English* Minister seasonably interposed for his rescue. The *Dane* had about three or four thousand foot and two thousand Horse upon the Isle, who were all of them defeated and taken: and some of them being *Germans* took party with the *Suede* invited by the hopes of good booty the plunder of a fertil and well peopled Island. The *Suede* marched directly to *Odensea* the capital Town, spacious and well built, which they entred without resistance. For as well *Funen* as the other *Danish* Isles are all open and unfortified, and have no defensible places except *Copenhagen* and *Cronenburg*, both upon the Isle of *Zeland*, having been ever esteemed

esteemed sufficiently fortified by being Islands, and the Kings of *Denmark* having been alwaies Masters of a considerable Naval strength. But now being no longer considered as such, but as contiguous and fastned with the continent, they were exposed an easie prey to an adventurous and forward Enemy.

'Tis observable that this miraculous march over a breadth of the Sea of more than twenty *English* miles, for such is the distance betwixt *Funen* and *Zeland* the way the Army marched, was the resolve of the King himself contrary to the sense of *Wrangel* and the principal Officers of his Army, and 'tis but just he should have the glory of the

the success, who had he mis-carried could not have avoided the imputation of temerity.

The News of the loss of *Funen* being arrived at *Copenhagen* brought the more terror with it, because besides the loss of so important an Isle, it awakened the apprehension that the same Bridge which had let the *Suede* over the little *Belt* into *Funen*, might do the like over the great *Belt* into *Zeland*. Whereupon the King of *Denmark* sends in haste to the *English* mediator, desiring him to renew with all diligence the former proposal of a separate Treaty which had been for some time interrupted, and to set it on foot with all possible Expedition. The Mediator being

ing assured of the reality of the King's Intentions, dispatches forthwith an Express to the King of *Sueden* with a Letter, the Contents whereof I shall insert, as being that upon which the following business turned. It acquainted him that the King of *Denmark* had already nominated and authorised the Lords *Joachim Gersdorf* *Rix Hofmaster*, and *Christian Scheel*, both Senators of the Kingdom, his Commissioners and Plenipotentiaries to meet, treat and conclude with like Commissioners from him at such time and place as he his Majesty of *Sueden* should please to appoint. It requested him on the part and at the Instance of *England*, to depute in like manner

his

his Commissioners, to prefix a time and place for meeting, to send safe Conducts for him the Mediator and the *Danish* Commissioners. Adding moreover, that his Majesty of *Sueden* being as it were in possession, or at least in assurance of an Honourable Peace, if he would Please henceforward to suspend Hostility, testifying thereby the moderation and temper wherewith he Governed his Prosperity and success, he would perform a work worthy the greatness of his Name, gratify the neighbouring Princes and States, and more especially oblige *England* by doing it in favour of a particular request.

This Letter bore date from
Copen-

Copenhagen February the third, 1657. To which the King returned Answer by the same messenger from *Newberg* in *Funen*, February the fifth, so quick was the dispatch at a distance of four-score miles *English*. The King's Answer was as followeth; To thank him the Mediator for his diligence in promoting the concerns of a Peace, which the *Dane* had hitherto so obstinately opposed: That he was willing to enter immediately upon a Treaty with *Denmark* under the respective mediations of *France* and *England*. And since it was left to him to appoint the place and time, he gave the King of *Denmark* the choice either of the Isle of *Sproo* or of *Rudkoping* in *Langland*

Langland for the Commissioners sufficiently Authorised on both sides to meet at, within eight days after the date of this his Letter. That together with this Letter he had sent safe Conducts in due form for him the said *English* Mediator and for the *Danish* Commissioners, to come stay and return at pleasure. That the business required the greater haste because he could promise himself no security in a suspension of Arms.

This Answer was a full concession of the desired Treaty, but the King would not be complimented out of his advantages into a cessation of Arms, well knowing the powerful effects of panic fears from the suddenness of

of a successful Invasion, and that the only way to profit by them is to give no respite for recollecting. The Swedish King continues his march with all possible diligence: His nearest way to *Zeland* had been over the great Belt from *Neuburg* to *Corfure* about sixteen miles *English*, but he chuses rather the way of *Langland* so to *Laland* & *Falster*, which though the farther was the safer, because the traject from Island to Island was no where so broad as it was in the Channel of the Belt betwixt *Neuburg* and *Corfure*.

The forementioned dispatch with the safe Conducts from the King of *Sueden* being arrived at *Copenhagen*, the Danish Commissioners accompanied with the

English

English Mediator, put themselves
 without delay upon their jour-
 ney towards *Rudcoping* in the Isle
 of *Langland*, the place appointed
 for the Treaty. They had tra-
 vailed little more than sixty
 miles *English*, when not far from
Wardinburg the first Town from
 the Sea upon *Zealand*, they met
 with the avant-curriers and scouts
 of the *Suedish* Army, by whom
 they were advertised the King
 was newly entred upon *Zeland*,
 and not far behind. This in-
 credible diligence was an asto-
 nishing surprise to the *Danish*
 Commissioners, whom in their
 journey from *Copenhagen* to *Rud-*
coping the King met at half way.
 Passing by the Scouts unmolested
 under the security of the safe con-
 ducts,

ducts, they soon after met the King himself riding in a slide (after the manner of the Northern Countries when the Snows are deep) at the head of about two hundred *Finnish* Horse. All alighting to salute the King, and he the same to resalute them, he willed them to pass on to the neighbouring Town, where he would speedily be with them, for that he was going only to view a ground where conveniently he might draw up his Army in Battalia.

To *Wardinburg* they went and there made the first entry upon the Treaty, and met there the Chevalier *Terlon* Ambassador of *France*, who came out of *Germany* in Company with the *Suedish* King.

King. The Commissioners for the Treaty on the part of *Sueden* were Count *Ulefeldt*, who though a *Dane*, yet having received great disobligations from his native Countrey after many services, turned malecontent, and had for some time refug'd himself with the *Suede*. He being a person of Excellent endowments and withal of a haughty and vindicative nature, was made use of as a fit Instrument upon this occasion against the *Danish* Court. The *English* Mediator at the instance of the *Dane* had privately moved the *Suedish* King to change him for some more grateful person, but it would not be granted. The other Commissioner was the Baron *Steno Bielk* a Senator

C of

of *Sueden*. But Monsieur *Coyet* and Secretary *Ernstein* though neither of them Commissioners, because not being Senators of the Kingdom, their Character was inferior to that of the *Danes*, yet being persons of mature knowledg in affairs of State were made use of as principal Instruments in the negotiating part.

The *Suedish* King staid no longer at *Wardinburg* then was necessary for drawing over his Army from the Isle of *Falster*, and then ranging them in *Batalia* with a large extended front, in view of the *Danish* Commissioners and their retinue, to ostentate their numbers and make them greater in appearance than they were in truth, at
length

length filed into a march the direct way to *Copenhagen*. There was little comfort in Treating whilst the King was marching, and the Mediators and *Danish* Commissioners whose persons might in so dangerous a *crisis* be needful nearer their own King, not being satisfied to be left behind the Army, adjourned the Treaty and breaking up from *Wardinburg* overtook the *Suedish* King at a Town called *Keug* four leagues from *Copenhagen*. The next morning he drew up in Battalia again, and then fell off as before into an orderly march after a division of *Polish* Horse upon the forlorn. His number about seven or eight thousand men well disciplin'd

and enured to hardships, where-
of one half were Horse, and a
small train of Artillery of eight or
ten field-pieces. Some were
left behind to guard the con-
quered places besides the garri-
son of *Fredericsoe*. That night
he took up his head quarters at a
village within a league and half
of *Copenhagen*, and within sight of
it, of which he would sportingly
say she was a fair Lady and de-
served dancing for. And he had
reason to say so, for had he won
her as he wooed her, she had
brought him for her dower all
Denmark and *Norway*, and then
without the tedious enumerati-
on of all his particular Princi-
palities, he might have short-
ned his Imperial Style and
Title

Title into that of *King of the North*.

The Mediators and Commissioners went to *Torstrup* a near adjoyning village there to draw up the concept or minutes of a Treaty, which when mutually agreed on, all Hostilities were immediately to cease, though it would require longer time to deduce those minutes into a larger form fit for the ratification of both Kings. Let us leave them a while at their work and take a short view of the posture and condition of those in *Copenhagen*.

The Fortifications of the City were much decayed, partly through long security not having, seen an Enemy for many Ages,

partly through parsimony, to avoid an expence supposed needless. Besides great Trading Towns are not willing to be fettered up with walls and bastions, and perhaps in this case the *Danish* Nobility were as little willing as the Citizens, fearing the strength of the Town might make the Burgers heady: The Walls being only of earth and not revested or faced with brick or stone, were much crumbled down with the frost, and easie to be climb'd without the help of scaling ladders; and the earth so petrified that spade or mattock could not be made use of for present repair. The spring waters began to fail, and some being long frozen were corrupted for want

want of air and motion. There was not one piece of Cannon upon the Walls when the Commissioners parted thence, but by this time good store were hastily drawn from the Arsenal and ships in the Harbour, and mounted upon ship-carriages. There was no provision of food or fuel for a siege, no garrison more than the Burgers, only upon this Alarm a body of five or six hundred horse and some few foot were drawn from *Sconen*, and passed over the *Sound* upon the Ice into the City. But the horse would soon have wanted forrage, and being most of them *Germans*, the least disorder might not improbably have seduced them over to others of their Country-

men in the *Suedish* Army, in hopes to have shared in the promised harvest of rich plunder. Besides the *Dane* quitting the field in *Sconen*, the *Suedish* Field-theer *Steinboch* was ready on that side with five or six thousand men to have passed the Ice and joined his Master in *Zeland*. But nothing so much dismaied the *Dane* as the consideration how none of his Confederates was in possible capacity of relieving him in this utmost extremity. The *Pole* and *Brandenburger* were remote as in another world, and seem'd glad that the storm had passed over their heads and fallen in another quarter. The Ice which was a bridge to the *Suede*, was a bar to the *Hollander*. And

so wonderful was that year, the Seas were not open for above three months after. On the first of *May* following, a ship at an Anchor in the Road before *Copenhagen* had her Cable of sixteen Inches circumference cut by a shoal of Ice. Add to this the temper of the people, some murmuring (as is usual in such occasions) against the conduct of their Governours, others exclaiming, they were betrayed, all affrighted and looking on their condition as desperate. As a Testimony whereof let me add this one instance, the *English* Mediator returning upon some occasions from the Camp into the City, found his house well fraught with rich goods, which the best

of the Inhabitants had conveyed thither as to a sanctuary against the plundering *Suede*. And yet this testimony is due to the person of the *Danish* King, that he comforted himself with a magnanimous constancy and firmness amidst all these misfortunes.

'Tis not irrational to suppose that if the King of *Sueden* had been truly informed of the state of the Town, he would not have slipped the most advantageous opportunity he ever had of taking *Copenhagen*. But though he knew all was not well with the *Dane*, yet he did not know the worst, and being already laden with a heap of prosperities crowded beyond expectation upon him, esteemed it more prudential to lay

lay hold on those eminent and
 securer advantages offered him
 by Treaty, than to depend upon
 the issues of War subject to vi-
 cissitudes. Yea 'tis not irrational
 to believe that some of the wiser
 heads in the *Suedish* Court did
 not heartily desire to see their
 King Master of *Copenhagen*, lest
 the commodiousness of the situ-
 ation preferable to that of *Stock-*
holm should invite either him or
 his Successor to make that the
 capital seat of the Monarchy,
 whereby *Sueden* should in process
 of time have insensibly degenera-
 ted from a Kingdom to a Pro-
 vince.

The minutes of the Treaty
 were in few days concluded at
Torstrup, upon which a cessation
 of

of Arms immediately followed : And from thence the Mediators and Commissioners removed to *Roschild*, to digest more at leisure those summary Articles into the body of a Treaty. Ten days were spent upon that Affair, till the whole was fully perfected and finished. And then the respective Instruments were in solemn form signed and sealed by the Mediators and Commissioners on both sides, and interchangeably delivered each to other.. Which from the place where it was finally concluded, though begun at *Wardinburg*, agreed at *Torstrup*, yet finished here, was denominated the *Roschild Treaty*..

By this Treaty the King of
Denmark

Denmark was a great loser if we consider what he quitted, but it may as well be said he was a great saver if we consider what he kept. For he who had lost all in the field could not reasonably expect to regain it in the cabinet; And though some of his principal branches were lopt off, which in time might grow again, yet the root was preserved which else had been lost without resource. So that it was but an expression of tenderness to his King and Countrey what the *Danish* Rix Hofmaster (a right worthy person) whisperd into the ear of the *English* Mediator, *Utinam nescirem literas.* The lands and Territories which by this Treaty were aliena-

alienated and transferred from *Denmark* to the Crown of *Sueden*, were the Provinces of *Sconen* and *Bleking* (as for *Halland* I reckon the *Suede* had that before) likewise the Isle of *Bornholm* and the two Governments of *Bahus* and *Drontheim* in *Norway*.

The *English* Mediator had two parts to act in this Scene; one was to moderate the Demands as far as he could in favour of the Sufferer, without disobliging the *Suede* by a too notorious partiality. The other was to watch lest any thing be stipulated betwixt the two Kings prejudicial to the Interests of *England*. It was moved that the whole Kingdom of *Norway* should be rent off from *Denmark* and

and united to *Sueden*, with which it lay contiguous: This intrenched upon *England* as giving the *Suede* the sole and entire possession of the chief materials, as Masts, Deals, Pitch, Tar, Copper, Iron, &c. needful for the apparel and equipage of our ships, too great a Treasure to be intrusted in one hand. The Mediator in avoidance of this was the first who insinuated the Proposal of rendring *Sconen* and *Bleking* to the *Suede*, which would cut off that unnecessary charge both Crowns sustained in garrisoning a Frontier each against other, by enlarging the *Suedish* Dominions to the bank of the *Sound*, the ancient and natural boundary of *Sueden*. This though
uneasie

uneasie to the *Dane* because of the vicinity of those Provinces to *Copenhagen* the Metropolis, yet was safe for *England*, because by this means the *Suede* is become Master of one Bank of the *Sound* as the *Dane* is of the other, though the accustomed Duty of passage, (the best flower in the *Danish* Garland) was by this Treaty reserved wholly to the *Dane*. Thus the Power over that narrow entry into the *Baltic* being balanced betwixt two emulous Crowns, will be an effectual preventive of any new exacti-
 ons or usurpations in the *Sound*, which occasioned a fierce War betwixt them in the year 1643. In which the States General judged themselves so nearly
concerned

concerned (*England* being at that time most unhappily embroild with Intestine Commotions, and not in condition to look after her concerns abroad) that they sent a considerable Fleet of War to the assistance of the *Suede*, by help whereof the *Dane* was beaten and forced to a dishonourable Treaty at *Broomsborow*, as was before mentioned. And the Duties payable in the *Sound* were from that time regulated as they now stand at this day.

An Article had been framed obliging both Kings to hinder the passage of any forrain Fleet of War into the *Baltic*, which though directly and immediately levelled against *Holland*, yet obliquely and remotely reflected upon

upon *England*, with which the *English* Mediator not being satisfied, caused the word *inimica* to be inserted, and then the sense was this, that both Kings to their power should endeavour to impede the passage of any forrain Fleet of War Enemy of both Crowns. By which the edge of the Article was rebated, and the King of *Sueden* displeased thereat, after acquiesced.

This *Roschild* Treaty thus concluded bears date, *February* the twenty sixth, 1658. or as we in *England* write 1657. and was ratified by both Kings under their Royal Seals and signatures, together with the seals and subscriptions of the Senators of both Kingdoms, according to the time
and

and manner prescribed by the Articles. The next thing which in order followed, was the solemn interview betwixt the two Kings at *Fredericsburg*, a Palace of the King of *Denmark* about four leagues from *Copenhagen*, the most magnificent of any in the North. Thither both of them went and which is remarqueable, without any previous stipulations concerning Guards or number of Followers usually practised betwixt doubtful Friends, but with a frank and Northern simplicity, without any seeming distrust each of other: Yet the King of *Denmark* had at least five hundred horse with him, being those who were formerly drawn out of *Schonen* besides

besides his ordinary, Foot-Guards in Livery, and the several Gentlemen and Officers of his Court; The King of *Sueden* had not above four hundred and those not so well mounted or armed as the other.

The *Danish* King set forwards from his House about two *English* miles or more to meet the *Suede* upon his way from *Potschild*. Both Kings at a competent distance alighted at the same time out of their Coaches and saluted by joyning their right hands, then both entred the *Danish* Coach, the *Suede* going first, then the *Dane*, accompanied by the *English* Mediator and Duke *Ernest Gunther* of *Holstein-Sunderburg*. The French Ambassador

bassador was not present at this
 Entertainment: The same Order
 was afterwards observ'd, only
 at the Table, the Queen of *Den-*
mark sat at the end, on the
 Queens right hand the King of
Sueden, next below him on the
 same side the King of *Denmark*.
 On the Queens left hand the
 Dutcheß of *Holstein* and the Me-
 diator; at some distance the
 Senators of both Kingdoms and
 principal Officers of the Army.
 Let it suffice to say the Enter-
 tainment was magnificent and
 such as became so unusual a
 Solemnity, for two Kings but
 now in War, to go together from
 the Field to the Table. The So-
 lemnity continued from *Thursday*
 to *Saturday*, both Kings for two
 Nights

Nights lodging under the same Roof. At parting they exchange'd Horses and other friendly Presents, and those Officers of the *Danish* Court who were appointed to attend the Person of the *Suedish* King were Nobly regaled by him. On *Saturday* he took his leave and went to *Elfinore*, the King of *Denmark* accompanying him part of the way, from thence he crossed the *Sound* to take possession of his new Conquests in *Sconen*, the two Castles of *Cronenbnrg* and *Elsenburg* (the latter now his own) thundring out their Salutations during his passage. From thence he went to *Gottenburg* where his Queen met him, the first time she had seen him since his first enterprize upon

upon *Poland*, and there an assembly of the States of his Kingdom was celebrated.

The Mediators went to *Copenhagen* to meet the Commissioners newly arrived from the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, Father in law to the King of *Sueden*, for adjusting the satisfaction due to that Duke, who had been a great sufferer by the War, in pursuance of the twenty second Article of the *Roschild* Treaty. The *English* Mediator received several Letters from the Duke requesting him to expedite that affair, which by the said Article was to be terminated by the second of *May*. Besides the King of *Sueden* though he had already quitted *Zeland*, yet he was resolv'd

solv'd not to dislodge his Troops
 from the rest of the *Danish* Do-
 minions till his Father-in-law
 had received an equitable sa-
 tisfaction. This Business met
 with more difficulties than was
 expected, and grew so high, that
 the *Danish* Commissioners entred
 a solemn Protestation in writing
 into the hands of the Mediators,
 protesting that the impediment
 was not on their part, if all things
 were not accorded betwixt the
 Royal and Ducal Houses before
 the Expiration of the time pre-
 fixed, they having already con-
 descended to all equitable De-
 mands. At last this Affair was
 ended also by Grant of the Baili-
 wick of *Suabsted* and Release of
 the Vassallage of the Dutchy of
Slesvic

Slesvic a fief of the Crown of *Denmark*, and the concept of Articles was signed and sealed by the Mediators and respective Commissioners, and afterwards ratified by the King and Duke.

As to the Dutchy of *Slesvic* 'tis to be noted, that the Dukes thereof ow Fealty to the Crown of *Denmark*, and consequently are liable to the forfeiture of their Fee in case of disloyalty. But the King of *Denmark* is likewise Duke of *Slesvic* and moreover, Hereditary in *Slesvic* and but Elective in *Denmark*, so that by Release of the Vassallage the Crown of *Denmark* was a loser, the King of *Denmark* a gainer. The Royal House of *Denmark*

D

and

and the Ducal House of *Gottorp* are extracted from two brothers, whose descendants are equally and in common sovereign Dukes of *Holstein* and *Slesvic*. All Contributions, Imposts and public Revenues are put into a common Coffer to be equally divided betwixt both, and all charges and expences of the Government to be ratably allowed out of the public Stock. And yet they have their Bailiwicks, Lands and Possessions apart. But the Prelates, Nobility and Towns of both Dutchies remain undivided and do Fealty to both Princes, who govern alternatively and change turns every year. It had been urged on the part of the Duke, that there should be an abolition
of

of this alternative communion, whereby the Government and public Justice within both Dutchies is one year in the King and another in the Duke. But the States of *Holstein* would not consent to this, and so 'twas laid aside, because those *Holsteiners* who upon the Division of the Government should have fallen under the repartition and share of the Duke, should have been no longer subjects to the King of *Denmark*, to the great hindrance and prejudice of those Noblemen who find better preferments in the Court at *Copenhagen* than can be expected from that at *Gottorp*. Besides having two Masters successively, when Justice is delaied them by one, they can have re-

course to the other, as the Government comes to his turn, which they of *Holstein* esteem a privilege.

Thus I have continued the Series of the principal affairs Military and Civil down to the Pacification of *Roschild*, and should have ended here, but that the War breaking out again and the new-made Peace soon after violated, oblige me, though unwilling, to proceed.

Two Ambassadors were sent from *Sueden* to the *Danish* Court, the Baron *Bielk* and Monsieur *Coyet*, partly to Negotiate such things as appertained to the execution of the *Roschild* Treaty, partly to make the Overture of a strict and intimate Alliance be-
twixt

twixt the two Crowns, by a League mutually Defensive. For it greatly imported the *Suedish* King, having many Enemies still before him, to double bolt, and by all possible means secure the back-door of *Denmark*. At leastwise not to leave *Denmark* like a smoaking torch, though the flame of War was extinguished, ready to take fire again upon every agitation. But things fell out quite otherwise. The *Dane* was more intent how to free his Country from the burdensome company of the *Suede*, than desirous to entertain with him any stricter alliance of Amity. And the *Suede* found it true that Treaties extorted by necessity upon unequal and disproportionate

tionate conditions are no longer durable than that force continues which first made them.

After the *Suedish* Army had quitted *Zeland* and the relenting Ice was no longer repassable, some in the *Danish* Court whose Zeal and Affection to their King and Countrey was otherwise commendable, were too free and open in Censuring the *Roschild* Treaty, as if their Affairs had not been reduced to such extremity as to constrain them to so dishonourable conditions. Thus when the danger is passed and the consternation over, all will seek to appear valiant and wise, and he who in a wrack thinks himself happy in a plank to save his life, is no sooner ashoar,

ashoar, but grows dissatisfied with himself for not securing his goods. *Van Beuning* the Dutch Ambassador at *Copenhagen* was busie with Intrigues amongst the great persons of the *Danish* Court, and suspected by the jealous and watchful *Suede*. A great debate fell out betwixt the *Suedish* Ambassadors and *Danish* Commissioners concerning the property of the Isle of *Hueen*, which not being expressly transferred to *Sueden* in the *Roschild* Treaty, the *Suede* to salve that omission challenged it as an appendix and accessory of *Sconen*, but the *Dane* reclaim'd it as an appurtenance of *Zeland*. The truth is, the Isle of it self without any relative consideration was

of little or no value, but had it remained in *Danish* hands they might have built a Fort upon it to command the entry of *Land-scroon*, by which the onely or most considerable Port which the *Suede* had in *Sconen* would have been rendred useles. And therefore they were resolved at any rate to have it, and if by no other right, at least by that new devised one which we in old *English* have no word for, but the *French* call it *Le Droit de bien-seance*. Other Controversies arose of the like nature, which the *Suede* though seemingly offended at, yet profited upon, making them the pretence for continuing their forces in *Funen*, *Jutland*, and other the *Danish* Dominions, which

which by the sixteenth Article of the Treaty they were to have quitted by the first of *May*.

1658. Summer was now approaching and yet the King of *Sueden* was still at *Gottenburg*, ordering the affairs of his Kingdom, settling himself in his new acquired Estates, and attending the Issue of his Ambassadors Negotiation at *Copenhagen*. In *June* he parted thence and arrived at *Fredericsode*, stopped some time at *Flensburg*, and from thence went to his Father-in-law at *Gottorp*. Four Ambassadors met him from the Electoral College, for there was at that time a vacancy in the Empire, and the Electors were assembled at *Frankfort* upon choice of a new Emperour. The

business of the Ambassadors was to proffer all friendly offices for composing the War betwixt him and *Poland*, and accommodating all differences betwixt him and the King of *Hungary*, soon after chosen King of the *Romans* and Emperour. As also to desire and forewarn him to abstain from marching with his Army upon the Territories of the Empire. The Ambassadors had an unwelcome reception, the King reproaching them with their Masters non-performance of the Garrantie of the *Münster* Treaty upon the *Danish* Invasion of the Bishoprick of *Bremen*. Two Ministers came to him in particular from the Elector of *Brandenburg*, but were not admitted to

to Audience, the King requiring a previous satisfaction from that Elector for deserting his Alliance and confederating himself with his declared Enemy the *Pole*. The *Brandenburg* Ministers were treated the more roughly, the better to disguise a following design, and to induce a general belief that the Dominions of their Master were forthwith to be invaded. The *English* Mediator had been recalled from the Court of *Denmark* as supposing all quiet there, and placed in that of *Sueden*, and was now in *Germany* setting on foot a new mediation betwixt that King, the *Pole* and *Brandenburger*. The Armies of which two last subsisted all this while at the charge of

of their own Countries, but that of *Sueden* made good cheer at the cost of *Denmark*, whiles the *Suedish* Ambassadors and *Danish* Commissioners were debating at *Copenhagen*. The truth is, the *Suede* was glad of a pretext for continuing in his old quarters contrary to the Treaty, being at a loss what to do with his Army. To disband was not reasonable, because he had the *Pole* with the *Brandenburger* his new Allie, Enemies before him, and not well assured of the *Dane* behind. To have removed his Quarters into *Pomeren* in the Neighbourhood of *Brandenburg*, had been to eat up his own Country, and which was more, would certainly have drawn together

gether a confederacy in the Empire against him as a disturber of the Peace thereof.

The *Suede* thinking it now time to begin his Campagne, which the *Dane* had long expected, hoping to be rid of his troublesome Guests, Ordered the Rendevouz of his Army at *Kiel* a Maritim Town in *Holstein*, with a Fleet of about sixty sail to be ready in the Harbour, most of them Vessels of burden, the rest good men of War. From *Kiel* he marched at the head of some selected Troops to *Wismar*, making semblance as if the gross of his Army should follow. But the Cabinet at *Gottenburg* had otherwise determined it, for there I perswade my self the design

sign was first hatched and cherished with all imaginable secrecy. It was thought not advisable for the *Suede* to stir in *Germany*, not being assisted by any powerful Allie. *France* at that time faced towards a marriage and consequently a Peace with *Spain*. *England* was a Chaos of confusion and disorder. A War with *Poland* was remote and unprofitable, and had already consumed him to no purpose, one nearer home would be of more safety and advantage. The *Dane* would never want a will so long as he wanted not a power to hurt *Sueden*; It was judged easier to conquer him than reconcile him.

The King staid but a little
time

time at *Wismar* with his Queen,
 and then privately imbarqued
 himself upon a *Dutch* Boyer in
 the River, and arrived at *Kiel*.
 All hands were now busie in
 putting the Army, Horse and
 Foot aboard, which done, the
 King went also aboard a man of
 War: The *French* Ambassador
 went with him, the *English* Mi-
 nister though invited refused to
 go, not being satisfied whether
 the design was upon *Prussia* or
Denmark, however would in
 neither case put himself as party
 in Company of an Enemy,
 whose office had been and was
 still to be a Mediator. The
 Fleet set sail with a fair wind
 and not many hours after arrived
 at *Corfure* upon the Isle of *Zeland*,
 this

this was in *August*, and the Peace had been concluded but in *February* before. No longer time was spent at *Corsure* then what was necessary for landing the Army, which consisting of near four thousand Horse, besides several Regiments of Foot to be transported from *Eumen* and joyned with those already brought from *Kiel*, would unavoidably require some time to disembark, which together with a march of about sixty miles *English* from *Corsure* to *Copenhagen*, was all the warning the *Dane* had to prepare an Entertainment for their unexpected Guest. The King had prepared no Manifest to declare the grounds and reasons of this enterprize, because he doubted

doubted not to carry all before him by the suddenness of the surprize, and the success had been the best argument for justification of his Arms. The *Danish* King sent to know of him the Reasons of this sudden Invasion after a Peace so lately concluded, and so dearly bought, and by what just ways and means he might allay and pacifie any conceived displeasure. But all was now too late, the great *Belt* was behind him and *Copenhagen* before him; he was over *Rubicon* and would to *Rome*.

The two defensible places upon *Zeland* being *Copenhagen* and *Cronenburg*, the *Suedish* Army divided, part under General *Wrangel* besieged *Cronenburg*, whilst

whilst the King with the greater part invested *Copenhagen*. It would neither be profitable nor delightful minutely to recount the particulars of a long siege, but it was soon made evident that the same prosperous direction which had guided the *Suedish* Arms in the former War did not accompany them in this, as indeed the state of the case was much varied, and the justice of the quarrel more questionable, it being clear that in the first War the *Dane* had been the Aggressor. *Cronenburg* made but a faint resistance, and cowardly yielded after about three weeks siege, which supplied the *Suede* with a mighty store of ammunition of all sorts, besides several
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had rendred it in great part inaccessible. These in the former War were all frozen, and as if communicating with the rigour of the Season, the bloud and spirits of the Inhabitants were congealed also. But now all flowed again, Anger and Indignation against the Perfidie, as they deem'd it, and insatiate Avarice of the *Suede*, inspired the *Dane* with Courage. But nothing held up their spirits more than the infallible assurance Monsieur *Bening* the *Dutch* Ambassador gave them, (who upon the first Intelligence of the *Suedes* landing posted home to advertise his Superiors thereof) that the States General would in few weeks send them Relief; Neither could they

they have weathered out so outrageous a storm had the Sheat-Anchor of *Holland* failed them.

The *Suede* finding the Town in too good a condition to be carried by Assault, was constrained to a formal siege by way of approach. The Fleet had blocked up the Harbour, as the Army had on *Zeland* side begirt the Town, but it was still open to the *Ammak*; which I cannot call an omission, because to have planted a Leaguer on that side would have required another Army. For this little Isle though united to *Copenhagen* by a long bridge, is disjoyned from the rest of *Zeland* by broad flats covered with water and a deep Channel in the midst, so
that

that a Leaguer on the *Ammak* could have had no communication with that on *Zeland*. In the Winter ensuing when the waters upon the flats were frozen, the *Suede* by the benefit of the Ice often visited that Quarter, where a Party of *Danes* being abroad and the Prince of *Homborg* advancing with a Squadron of Cavalry to repel them, but pressing too forward upon the *Danish* Rear had his Leg struck off with a Cannon shot. To be short, the *Danes* defended themselves with great Gallantry and Loyalty, their King animating them with his presence, and pitching his Tent upon the Rampart bid his fellow-soldiers *Cæsar*-like, not Go but Come. The Cannon, of which

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which they had some hundreds upon the walls, plaid freely upon the besiegers, not without considerable execution. But not content with this, they made several brisk sallies into the *Suedish* Trenches with such success, that they began at length to despise that Enemy whom so lately they had feared. The *Suede* lost many good Officers and Soldiers, amongst whom Count *Jacob de la Gardie*, Lieutenant of the Infantry was slain by a Granade.

During this time the Elector of *Brandenburg* was entred *Holstein* and *Jutland* with a gallant Army, of which the Elector was Generalissimo for the Emperour as King of *Hungary*, but the Imperial

perial Troups were Commanded by *Montecuculi*, and a great Body of *Polish* Horſe by old *Zarnetsky*. Prince *Palatine Sultsbach* who Commanded in thoſe parts for the *Suede*, being too weak to appear before ſo potent an Enemy retired firſt into the faſtneſs of *Ditmarſh*, afterwards into *Fredericſode*: Which the *Suede* ſoon after demolifhed as requiring greater numbers of men than he could well ſpare, thence transporting himſelf into *Funen*, lay intrenched in thoſe Iſlands whither the Confederates for want of ſhipping could not follow him. The Elector ſummoned and took the Caſtle at *Gottorp*, the Manſion and Reſidence of the Duke of *Holſtein*, who though
he

he Honoured his Family by matching his excellent and most deserving Daughter to a great King, yet his active Son in Law involv'd the good old Duke in many troubles unwelcome to his age and humor. He himself was retired to *Tonning* a strong Town of his own, and not long after died.

One thing I had almost forgot, the more considerable because both Kings were personally engaged in the Action. The *Suede* observing that the *Dane* daily fetched provisions from the aforementioned Isle the *Ammak*, which contained four or five villages, and was about so many *English* miles in length, was resolv'd to make a descent in order

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to

to burn the Villages and destroy whatever might afford sustenance or relief to the besieged. For which purpose he put aboard about twelve hundred foot and four hundred horse, and the King himself would needs be of the party, thinking nothing so well done as where he was present, as well as naturally ambitious of sharing personally in the Glory of every brave Action. Coming to the height of the *Dra-ker* he forced his landing upon the point of the Isle, and constrain'd them upon the Guard to abandon their Post. He marches up the Isle and destroys all before him, and the *Dane* fearing he came to fortifie some Post on that side, set fire to the Village

next

next adjacent to the Town, as the *Suede* had done to the rest. Having done his Work, the *Suede* retreats to his boats too securely, some scattered from the Body, others encombred with plunder; mean while the *Danish* King sallies out in person with three hundred horse and two hundred dragoons, besides some few commanded foot mounted behind, falls in upon the *Suedish* Rear, slew several of them and put the rest in disorder. The *Suedish* King mounted upon an unruly Horse bounding and curvetting with him ran great hazard of falling that day into *Danish* hands. But the *Dane* either not knowing all his advantages, or not willing to be drawn too far from his

Town by an over-eager pressing upon an Enemy who outnumbered him, founded a seasonable Retreat. The same King not long before narrowly escaped another danger, passing in a small boat a head of a Galliot under sail in a strong Current, the Galliot overset the boat, the Steers-man was drowned, but the King saved upon the Galliot.

It was now *October*, 1658. when the much expected *Dutch Fleet* began to appear, consisting of thirty eight men of War, six Fire-ships, about three score Fluits, Galliotics and other Vessels, with betwixt three and four thousand Auxiliary Foot, and
all

all sorts of Provisions for the relief of *Copenhagen*. The Fleet was Commanded by General *Opdam*, who came to an Anchor off the *Lapsand* about half a League below *Cronenburg*. The *Suedish* Fleet was forty two sail, some of them stout Ships, Commanded by General *Wrangel* who was High Admiral of *Sueden*, and posted in four Squadrons a little above *Cronenburg*, both Fleets within a League each of other. Some were of Opinion that the *Suedish* Fleet ought to Encounter the other in the *Lap* whiles the Winds were contrary from *Copenhagen*, and so the *Dutch* Fleet unbefriended of a Port, whereas the *Suede* was Master of both Shoars, and had

several Ports near at hand. This in some respects was the better, and that King inclinable to it: But he deferring to his Council in so weighty a Concern, most of them opined otherwise. That they had too many Enemies already to make themselves Aggressors in a new War. That this would heighten and exasperate things betwixt them and the *Dutch* beyond hopes of a reconciliation. That *Holland* in case of any disaster could furnish one Fleet after another, but *Sueden* adventured their All. That it would be more justifiable to Forrain Princes and States in Amity with them, if putting themselves upon the defensive, they did only endeavour to im-

pede

pede the passage of those who would relieve a besieged Enemy. Such considerations prevailed, while both Fleets lay for some days at an Anchor.

At length the Wind coming fair at North-west with a fresh Gale, the Dutch Fleet weighed and set sail for the Sound. Both the Castles of Cronenburg and Elfinburg fired at them as they passed the narrow, some of the Cannon carrying fifty and sixty pound ball, but to no other effect than to shew that those Castles are but bugbears to affright Merchant-men, and that nothing less than a Fleet can command the Passage of the Sound. Both Fleets were Engaged so close together by rea-

son of the Streight, but a League over, that most of the shot took place and made great slaughter on both sides, Vice-Admiral *Wit-Wittensen* had the Van of the *Dutch*, who coming up with the *Suedish* Admiral cut off his Steerage and made him lie by to mend, but the Vice-Admiral himself was slain by a small shot. He had been brave and bold but ill seconded; his Ship called the *Brederode* (the same that old *Tromp* was slain upon in the *English* Wars) was broken in pieces, and running a ground fell on one side like a wrack. She was mounted with fifty six good brass Cannon, some of which a *Scotchman* afterwards weighed up by the Invention of a Diving-Bell.

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Bell. *Opdam* fought well, though some of his Squadron acted remissly. *Peter Floriz* the Rear-Admiral was slain. The *Suede* lost four Ships, two whereof were carried to *Copenhagen*, the *Dutch* lost two, their Fire-ships spent themselves in vain. The destruction of men was greater than of ships, the fight being smart and close for the time it lasted, which was not long, for the *Dutch* never tacked but onely fought their direct way to convey their supply to *Copenhagen*, and this they effected to the great joy of the City.

The fight was no sooner ended, but Orders were issued out to the *Suedish* Fleet to put immediately into the Port of *Land*.

scroon; which was providently done, for the next morning the *Dane* having joyned twelve good ships which lay ready in Harbour, though detained from the fight by contrary winds, with the ablest ships of the *Dutch* sailed towards the *Sound* to reengage the *Suede*. But he was burrow'd in Port all but one ship, which being disabled in the fight could not make so much hast as the rest, and upon the approach of the Enemy was fired by her own men. Whereupon the *Dane* and *Dutch* turn their design against *Landscroon*, the mouth of whose channel was so narrow, that but one ship could enter at a time, and was guarded by four *Suedish* ships placed at
convenient

convenient distances and by an old Block-house. They durst not adventure up the Channel but sailed in a Line athwart it, and so every ship poured in her Broad-side with huge noise but little or no Execution. Under the Covert of the smoke they sunk old Ships of great Tunnage charged with stones and other materials to choak the mouth of the River, but this was frustrated by the depth of water and strength of the Current. Whereupon, this course taking no effect, they made Trial with fire-ships and entred the Channel therewith, intending to grapple what they could, or at least to turn their fire-ships adrift towards the *Suedish* Fleet. But

But the vigilance of the *Suede* prevented this, who mann'd all his boats with Mariners and Soldiers, the King himself as his manner was, putting himself upon a boat to encourage and direct his men. So soon as a fire-ship was coming up the boats rowed down by the sides of the Channel with intention to get beyond her and cut off her Long-boat from her Stern. The fire-ship men apprehending the loss of their boat as their life, besides the danger of being boarded, set fire to their train and made away. Then the *Suedish* Mariners and Soldiers with Iron Hooks and Chains tow'd the fire-ships till they had turned them a-ground, and there let them.

them burn at pleasure. Winter coming on the *Dane* returned also to Port.

The State of things being thus altered, the *Suede* changed his measures accordingly. For *Copenhagen* being relieved with a considerable renfort of well commanded men, the Port open, the *Dane* and *Dutch* Masters at Sea, Winter already begun, it was judged most advisable to raise the siege and convert it into a blockade. To this purpose a Camp was fortified upon a convenient ground about half a League distance from the Town, which though Numerous enough in Foot to have attacked the Camp it self, yet wanted Cavalry

valry wherewith the *Suede* abounded, and there was a fair level and valley betwixt the Camp and City, so that little of Action passed for a good time. Till at length the *Suede* considering that whatever attempt could be made against *Copenhagen* ought to be done that Winter, because the *Hollander* would certainly be upon him in the Spring of the year with another Fleet; that it was evident no good could be done against the Town by the tedious forms of a siege; that long and lingring services in Camps and Trenches usually consumed more men then brisk and sudden Actions; that the rigour of the Winter when the Earth was covered with snow and the waters

with

with Ice had been always most propitious to his greatest undertakings, and might also favour him in a general and vigorous Assault of *Copenhagen*; that the Enterprize was dangerous and so were all great ones, but if atchieved, would both quit the Cost and reward the Service. It was then resolved to Storm the Town, for which purpose great Recruits of Foot were drawn from *Sueden*, and a better body of Infantry mustered upon this occasion, than ever the *Suede* had seen before in *Zeland*, and many hands were busied in making all fitting Instruments such as ladders of all sorts, spurs to pass the Ice with, boats covered with Hurdles and Galleries, and
 sundry

sundry other Engines of War.

Three Nights together the *Suede* marched from his Camp towards the Town, partly to amuse the Enemy, but principally to handsel and discipline his men to their several tasks and services, that being practised to the handling and carrying of their Engines they might be the less imbaras'd thereby when they had occasion to use them in good earnest. The first and second Night nothing was done, but as they marched out of the Camp they returned orderly again, the

Dane either not perceiving or making shew not to do so.

The third Night the *Suede* drew out as before, but with full resolution

lution to make the Attack. Several Troops of dismounted Cavalry were intermixed with the Foot, and a good Body of Horse to sustain them, and if need were, secure a Retreat. The King commanded in Person, and put himself under the Covert of an old bank, little more than musket-shot from the Town, ready to give Orders as occasion required. The Cannon of the Town was all pointed low to flank and rake the Ditches and Counterscarps, and the *Dane* never fired till the Enemy was under the Works and ready for their Attack. But then plied them so furiously with great and small shot, Cartridges, Hand-granades, Bombs from Mortar-pieces,

pieces, besides others rould down from the Walls, that the *Suede* was repulſed with great ſlaughter, the reſt of his men diſordered, the Engins broken, and the whole Enterpriſe confounded; Which the King perceiving commanded a Retreat, and ſent at the ſame to Sir *William Vavaſor* to forbear the Attack on the other ſide, but the Orders coming too late found him dead upon the place, with many of his followers. The *Suede* loſt in this Action *Erick Steinbock* General of the Artillery, with many brave and old experienced Officers, both *Germans* and *Suedes*. According to the King's Liſt taken from the Muſter-Roll, there were ſlain five hundred thirty four, and eight

eight hundred ninty five Wounded, the *Dane* reports them more, perhaps the poor innocent Boors whom the *Suede* too cruelly enforced to help carry down their Engins and Utenfils, might encrease the nnmber of the slain.

The *Suedish* Arms were some time after more prosperous in reducing the Isles of *Langland*, *Laland*, *Falster* and *Moenen*, to the great enlargement of their Quarters, and Accommodation of their numerous Horfe, who in some places began to be straitned for want of Forrage.

In the Spring of the year the *English* Fleet arrived in the *Sound* under General *Mountague*, not 1659. with any intention as some vainly suggested,

suggested to assist *Sueden* in the Conquest of *Denmark*; That had been impolitic and irrational, for 'tis evident the conservation of *Denmark* is the common Interest as well of *England* as of *Holland*, neither was there at that time the least fear or danger of any such supposed Conquest. The Elector had an Army in *Jutland* of near thirty thousand men, *Brandenburgers*, *Poles* and *Austrians*, and could have been as many more if either the Countrey could have supported their numbers, or the service required them. *De Ruyter* having joyned *Opdam* with another Fleet of forty sail, the *Dutch* besides the *Dane* were near fourscore men of War in those Seas. *De*

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Ruyter had brought upon his Fleet forty Companies more, besides the thirty eight Companies formerly brought by *Opdam*. Had the War been mannaged in good earnest, and not by Confederates who have different Aims and Interests, and had the Army in *Copenhagen*, for so I may now call it, joyned with that of *Brandenburg*, a thing easie to have been effected by such Fleets, and all this mighty force united under one Head, it had been sufficient not only to have beat the *Suede* out of the *Danish* Isles and Dominions, but out of *Sueden* it self. Besides the *Suede* was at that time involved in a War against the Emperour, *Pole*, *Brandenburger*, *Muscovite*, *Dane* and *Hollander*.
Add

Add to this that the weak side of *Sueden* is towards *Denmark*, and the *Suedish* King has sometimes told one in private, that were he King of *Denmark* he could conquer *Sueden* in two years. Which though it may seem to have something of the *Rodomontade* in it, may yet to a States-man be of some Instruction.

England though sorry for this second rupture with *Denmark*, thought it not their Interest to see *Sueden* overset and sinking under the mighty weight of so powerful a Confederacy, but to buoy it up out of those quicksands it was fallen into, as being the most proper and necessary counterpoise which *England* had at Sea against the combined Na-
val

val strength of *Holland* and *Denmark*. Without which Counterpoise *England* in every War with *Holland* (her emulous and Rival State, and that which stands in the eye and aim of all her Greatness and Glory in point of Trade and Sea-Dominion) would run a great risque of being excluded from the *Baltic*, and by that means shut out from the Market of all her Naval Stores. The old King of *Denmark*, *Christiern* the fourth, was too stomachful to truckle under the *Dutch* Lee, he fought them in Person when weakned with old Age, and being wounded by a splinter of his Ship to the loss of one of his Eyes, his cloaths besmeared with blood are preserved

served as a Relique to this day. But in the Reign of his Son and Successor the now *Frederic* the third, the *Dane* considering the *Suede*, his ancient and hereditary Enemy, had by his new Conquests in *Pomeren* and *Liefland*, invested himself in so many considerable Ports of the *Baltic*, he twisted his Interest too weak, of it self to hold against the *Suede*, with that of *Holland*; who having a concentric Interest with that of the *Dane* in regard of their *East-land* Trade, both States drawing together by a mutual Cooperation, tied the fast knot of a strict Alliance. And from that time forward the *Danish* Court, which in the old Kings time was used to lofty *Danish*, spoke

spoke nothing now but *Low Dutch*; Yea so prevalent were the *Dutch* Councils at *Copenhagen*, that 'tis most certain the first War against *Sueden* was declared and denounced by the *Dane* at the instigation of the *Dutch*, to the end that by this revolution they might better open and secure their Trade with *Dantzick* and the *Prussian* Ports, obstructed and endangered by that formidable Impression the *Suede* had made upon *Poland*. How well the *Dane* was rewarded for this Service, the sequel of this Narrative will declare.

The Design of the *English* Fleet was to advance, and if need were to inforce a Peace upon the
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dissenting King, on the terms and conditions of the *Roschild* Treaty, pursuant to what the *English* Mediator (who upon occasion of this second War followed the *Suede* out of *Germany* into *Denmark* again) had by repeated instances urged upon both Kings. Which, as things then stood, was conceived the most proper medium for accommodating present differences, and preventing future inconveniences ; the Business requiring the greater hast, for fear the War continuing and the Confederates vigorously pursuing their point, the *Suede* should either totally be ruined, or the *Dutch* profiting upon his desperate condition, should capitulate from him

him particular advantages to themselves prejudicial to the Interest of *England*. Therefore in case of an obstinate repugnancy to the Peace on the *Danish* part upon the terms aforesaid, to assist the *Suede* in a defensive way under certain cautions and restrictions. In which case of Assistance, for in War many things may be supposed and provided against which never come to pass, the *Suede* was to give real gages and pledges for the Garrantie of his Faith. To which end the *English* Mediator had often and closely remonstrated to him that 'twas not reasonable to put a sword into anothers hand without a previous assurance of its not being made use of

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against.

against ones self. And used it also as an Argument to dispose the otherwise unwilling *Suede* to a Peace with the *Dane* (for a War with *Denmark* was of all Wars the most commodious for him) because he was not to expect an Assistance from *England* which should cost him nothing. And to foretast the temper of Affairs, proceeded so far as to nominate *Stade* upon the *Elb*, and *Landscroon* in the *Sound*, to be put in case of such assistance into *English* hands; which taking vent afterwards, gave occasion to that frivolous report how that *England* and *Sueden* had agreed together to share *Denmark* betwixt them.

The *English* Fleet lay all the Summer in the *Souud* and *Belt*
only

only as Spectators, to see fair play, and the year declining returned home without doing any thing, contrary to the sense of the Commissioners, who some time before, viz. in July, 1659. arrived from *England*, and would have had the Fleet continued out longer to countenance their new begun Mediation. Which new Mediation upon change of the Government in *England*, was begun and mannaged by new measures taken from *Holland*. For whereas a Treaty had but lately been concluded at the *Hague*, viz. the eleventh of May, 1659. betwixt *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, for reducing the two Northern Kings to an acquiescence in the *Roschild* Treaty,

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they

they in *England* upon the change
aforesaid, to gratifie the *Dutch*
and ingratiate themselves, con-
clude another Treaty with them
at the *Hague* of the fourth of
July following, containing a re-
cession from some material
points and Articles in the said
Roschild Treaty. And moreover
oblige themselves to obtain from
the *Suede*, and that forcibly if
need be, in favour of the *Dutch*
the ratification of the Treaty
made at *Elbing* betwixt *Sueden*
and the *States General*, with the
Elucidations thereof made at
Thoren. The truth is they made
no great scruple, at least for that
one time, to come under the
Stern of their Neighbouring
Common-wealth, thereby to
have

have better leisure to recollect
and refit the scattered planks
and pieces of their own broken
Republic.

The *Dutch* and *Dane* riding
Masters at Sea, the *English* Fleet
return'd home, and the *Suede* so
disproportionably out-numbered
as not to dare to peep out of his
Ports, the next Action of Im-
portance was the descent which
the Confederates made upon the
Isle of *Funen*. The strength of
the *Suede* had hitherto consisted
in being lodged securely within
the *Danish* Isles, where the Elector
of *Brandenburg* with the Army of
the Confederates could not reach
him. But what before was his
strength becomes now his weak-
ness,

ness, for the *Suedish* Troops lay disjoyn'd upon the several Islands, and the Enemies Fleets intercepted all Communication betwixt them of passing to each others assistance as occasion required. Besides that no Island which has open landing places is defensive but by a Fleet, and such a one as is able to keep the Sea. And lest any should imagine, that in this case the *Suede* ought to have drawn together all the divided members of his Army, and to have kept them united in one Body upon the principal Isle, which was *Zeland*, it ought to be considered that the Countrey had been harass'd by a long War, and one Island could not furnish a subsistence to all the
Troops

Troops, but the greater part must necessarily have perished for want of Forrage.

The *Suede* had upon this Isle of *Funen* about fifteen hundred Foot, with some few Companies of Dragoons, and about twenty five hundred of his best Horse. Prince Palatine *Sultsbach* commanded in Chief, assisted by Field-Marshal *Steinboch*. Part of *De Ruyter's* Fleet transports General *Ebersteyn* with a good Body of Horse and Foot from the Confederate Army in *Jutland*, over the little *Belt* into this Island of *Funen*. Whiles at the same time Field-Marshal *Schack*, by the help of the other part of the Fleet commanded in Person by

De Ruyter, lands upon the other side of the Isle by the way of the great *Belt*. Either of these Bodies was sufficient to have fought the Prince with his whole united Force, but divided as he was and his men posted in several the most suspected places to prevent landing, he was much too weak. One would think the proper time to have fought the Enemy had been at landing, or if that could not be, because the Cannon favoured his descent, yet at least-wise before both Bodies had joyned, which was not till after a leisurely march of some days. And yet he did neither, and which is more, gave afterwards so satisfactory an Account to the King that he incurred

curr'd no displeasure. It seems all he could do was to reunite the scattered parts of his little Army, and posting himself in the most advantageous ground he could make choice of, there attend the Enemy, and fight it out for Safety, if not for Victory. This was done at *Newburg* a small Town upon the extremities of *Funen* opposite to *Corsure* in *Zeland*, in which last the King of *Sueden* was, almost near enough to be the Spectator of the distress and calamity of his Troops, and yet too far to help them; For *De Ruyter* lay with his Fleet betwixt the two Towns. The *Suede* fought it valiantly having also the advantage of the ground, till the small Infantry overlaid
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by numbers was driven from it. For the Confederates had not less than six thousand Foot, the *Suede* not more than sixteen hundred. As for Horse the greatest odds was in Courage and Discipline, the numbers near equal. I would not upon this occasion conceal the honour of our Country-men, I mean the *English* Regiment commanded by Sir *William Killigrew*, who together with the other Auxiliary Foot brought from *Holland* keeping firm and unshaken, gave opportunity to the routed Troops to rally behind them, by which good Order and Resolution, they in great measure turned the sometime wavering fortune of the day. The *Suede* at last was broken,

broken, and lost Horse, Foot, and Cannon, all were slain or prisoners, none escaping but the Prince and *Steinboch*, who by the favour of the Night and the skill and labour of a few rowers passed by the *Dutch Fleet* in a Fisher-boat, and landing at *Corfure* brought unwelcome tidings to their Master.

This was the greatest foil that King had ever received and he did Nov. 1659. not long survive it, and yet 'tis not easie to say what impression it made upon him, more, than that 'twas little or well dissembled. No part of those many dispatches which were sent upon this occasion could

could be read in his Countenance, having besides his natural Courage, the Art of concealing all inward emotions and disturbances under a free and masculine appearance, and by seeming to fear nothing deserved to be feared. Not but that in conversation he would often testifie a tender resentment for the loss of so many brave men, who he thought deserved a better destiny.

The Prince was so far from being disgraced, that the King during his absence made him Commander in Chief of all his Forces in *Zeland*. For the Winter coming on, and the *Dutch Fleet* sailing towards *Lubec* to Victual,

Victual, and soon after putting
 into Port, and the Enemy at
 Land breaking up their Cam-
 paigne, gave the King leifure to
 pals over into *Sconen* and so to
Gottenburg, where he held a Con-
 vention of the States of his King-
 dome, for the better facilitating
 of such new Levies of men, and
 other Contributions which were
 thought necessary for carrying
 on his many Wars to some de-
 sirable conclusion. And as his
 leifure permitted he intended
 to make an Excursion to *Stock-
 holm*, that City much desiring to
 see their King after four years
 absence. But his
 incessant Labours, Dec. 1659.
 Care and Watchings
 brought him to a sharp defluxi-
 on,

on; that, a Feaver; and that, his end.

He was cut off in the strength of his days, not forty years of Age, a Prince of undoubted Courage and unwearied Industry, low of stature but of aspiring thoughts, of a gross and heavy body, of a quick and active mind. No man of wit or courage could want Employment in his Court, and he had the singular advantage of a happy judgment in discerning men, and suiting them to such Affairs to which they were best adapted, either by the secret dispositions of Nature, or by acquired knowledge. His War with *Poland* covered him with Laurels which bore him nothing but gaudy and unprofitable

table appearances, but the Olive of the *Roschild* Treaty yielded him nourishing and strengthening fruit. His first War with *Denmark* presented him the fair side of Fortunes medal, in the second she turned to him the Reverse. He had early been bred a Soldier under General *Torsten*son in *Germany*, whom he usually called his Master, and never named but with great marks of Veneration. He passed through the gradations of the Art Military, from a Captain of a Troop of Horse to Captain General of as good an Army perhaps as this Age has seen. For at the time of the conclusion of the Peace in *Germany* by the Treaties of *Munster* and *Osnabrug*, he had under his Command of
several

several Nations, fifty three thousand Foot, and twenty four thousand Horse in Field and Garrison; Besides the Confederate Armies of Marshal *Turenne* and the Landgrave of *Hess*, who acted by concert with him and were at least thirty thousand more. He kept to his dying day the Muster-Rols of every Regiment with the names of the Officers, some of whom when disbanded upon the Peace, he retained by Pensions at his own charge, being then but Prince, obliging them thereby to his service, and foreseeing the use he might one day have of them. And has been heard to say, that he thought himself a greater man when Captain General in *Germany*,

many than he was now when
 King of *Sueden*. He would be-
 wail the loss of so many good
 places which *Sueden* demolisht
 or surrendred, and for doing
 whereof he as Captain General
 was also constituted Plenipoten-
 tiary at the Treaty at *Osnabrug*,
 amounting to above two hun-
 dred Towns, Castles and Forts.
 By which it was easie to per-
 ceive that he sided in opinion
 with Chancellour *Oxenstiern*,
 who when the *Spanish* Cabal
 carried all before them at *Stock-*
holm, having received perempto-
 ry Commands from that Court
 to conclude the Peace in *Ger-*
many, he did it in obedience to
 the commands of his Superiors,
 but with such regret that he could
 not

not forbear to utter those words, *Anima mea non intravit in secretum eorum.* He was the son of the Sister of the great *Gustaphus Adolphus* so famous in the German Story, and upon the resignation of his Cousin *Christiana*, was admitted to the Crown of *Sueden* by the general consent of all the Estates.

This King thus removed by the stroke of death, all things resolv'd into a disposition to a general Peace. His Son and Successor was a Minor of five or six years of Age. His Queen was left Regent during the minority of her Son, a mild and gentle Lady, deriving from the blood of her Ancestors of the House of *Holstein*.

Holstein-Gottorp and *Saxe*, a natural candor and benignity. She was assisted by the great Officers of the Crown, who were willing with peace and quietness to enjoy their share in the Government which the Laws and Constitutions of *Sueden* allowed them in the minority of their King. The *Suedes* themselves had been harassed and tired out by long Wars, and that Martial Nation almost rode off their metal by a more Martial King. So that all things conspired on that side to Peace and Settlement. On the other side the Queen of *Poland* a *French* Lady, who had the ascendant in all the affairs of that Kingdom, was wrought over by the means of *France* to a ready Con-

Concurrence in a Peace with *Sueden*. Besides that the *Pole* was of himself readily disposed thereto, partly in consideration of the many convulsions and distractions of that Kingdom, occasioned by the contrary motions of disagreeing factions, and partly in regard of the unprofitableness of a War with *Sueden*, by which much might be lost nothing could be got. A Peace is therefore concluded betwixt both Crowns of *Poland* and *Sueden*, under the mediation of *France* at a place called *Oliva*, and the Emperour and *Brandenburger* who were but accessories in the *Polish* War, were easily comprehended in the Peace.

The

The onely difficulty was for *Denmark*; the late *Suedish* King had made great scruple of admitting the States General of the *United Provinces*, as Mediators for composing the War betwixt him and the *Dane*, alledging and declaring that they were parties with the *Dane* and Enemies to him, and that they ought to make their own Peace first before they could be in capacity to interpose for others. But the now *Suedish* Court soon surmounts this difficulty, and the four *Dutch* Deputies Extraordinary who arrived in the summer and went two of them to the *Suede* and two to the *Dane*; attended with a splendid Retinue, I mean with *De Ruyter* and forty
 mea

men of War, were now accepted by the *Suede*, notwithstanding all former hostilities and provocations, as Mediators in the ensuing Treaty. This rub being removed, the next was the adjusting the terms and conditions of the Peace. For the *Dane* expected his Confederates should have assisted him to the obtaining of such a Peace as might in the conditions thereof have born some proportion to the benefits which they had received by the War, and to the loss and hazard which he had sustained. For this War of *Denmark* had drawn the *Suede* out of the bowels of *Poland*, had delivered the *Brandenburger* from the imminent danger of having his Countrey made

made the seat of a War. It was begun by the Council and instigation of the States, to secure their *Dantzick* trade, and was continued and prosecuted under the prospect and assurance of relief from them. Many of the *Danish* Court, notwithstanding the calamities they suffered by this second War, were not heartily sorry for it, because it gave them an opportunity of bettering by the help of their Allies, those grievous conditions which necessity had extorted from them at such a time when no friend could help them.

The States General indeed sent them Relief, but such as served their own turn, not that of the *Danes*. The *Dane* expected

no less than to be reinvested in all those Dominions and Possessions which the former War had wrested from him. And moreover in compensation and satisfaction for the spoil and ravage of the whole Kingdom of *Denmark*, by the violation of a Peace so solemnly and lately established, to be reinstated into some or all those Lands and Territories which the *Broomsborow* Treaty had transferred to the *Suede*, assisted in that War by the *Hollander*, that so both Crowns might return again to their former limits and boundaries. They who cut off the flower of the *Suedish* Cavalry in *Funen*, what hindred but that they might have landed in *Zeland*. Winter came

came not on so fast, but the Fleet might have sailed four Leagues, and it was no more to *Zeland* though more to *Lubec*. If they wanted Foot, *Copenhagen* could have spared them five thousand, and they might have had ten thousand more for fetching from the Confederate Army in *Holstein* and *Jutland*. But this needed not, the *Suede* had not five thousand Foot upon *Zeland*, nor so good a Body of Horse as he had left upon *Funen*, besides the Horse of the Confederates was better then before, having received an encrease of strength from the spoils of their Enemy.

But unhappy that Prince who wages a War against a stronger than himself, not by his own

strength, but by that of his Con-
 federates; and still more unhappy
 when those Confederates are
 jealous and distrustful of his fu-
 ture growth and greatness. The
 Alliances of States are Conveni-
 ence not Friendship, Interest not
 Affection, a reason of the head
 not a passion of the heart. The
 poor exhausted *Dane*, after all his
 former and later sufferings, must
 stoop again under the heavy yoke
 of the despised *Roschild* Treaty.
 The dividing of the Banks of
 the *Sound* betwixt the two
 Crowns accommodated *Holland*
 as well as *England*. That ne-
 cessity which first cast the *Dane*
 upon the *Dutch* Alliance, if re-
 moved, might make him recoil
 from it; to keep him poor was to
 keep

keep him humble and so dependent. And yet that the *States-General* might seem to do something more than the bare relief of *Copenhagen*, or which is all one, more then the bare securing of their own Trade in the *Baltic*, They urge and obtain that the Government of *Drontheim* in *Norway* be restored again to the *Dane*, to the intent those barren mountains might make some satisfaction and amends for the plunder and spoil of a fertil Kingdom, much more exhausted and more cruelly haras'd by this second War then it had been by the former. And yet 'tis worthy considering whether in this also the *Dutch* did not as well gratifie themselves as the *Dane*, partly

G 3

because

because *Drontheim* better accommodated their *Norway*-Trade whiles in the hand of the *Dane* then when in that of the *Suede*, partly in regard of the Levies of men which the *Dutch* usually make amongst the *Norwegian* Mariners, by the favour of the Court of *Denmark* in times of War, and partly for better recovery of those moneys which some particular Companies of *Amsterdam* had advanced to the King of *Denmark* upon the Gage and Pledge of the dependencies of *Drontheim*. The controverted Isle of *Hueen* is adjudged to the *Suede*. The Isle of *Bornholm* which during this last War had voluntarily returned to the obedience of her former Master, must

must be restored again to the *Suede* after the expiration of one year, or else exchanged for an equivalent. In all the other material points, excepting that of *Drontheim*, the *Roschild* Treaty is renewed and reconfirmed, and remains to this day the standard and measure betwixt these two Northern Crowns.

There is one thing more observable with which I shall conclude. The onely benefit and advantage which *Denmark* has received by this last War amidst many losses and sufferances was occasional and accidental, and for which the *Dane* has no obligation to any of his Confederates, because it sprang meerly from

the contingencies of the War; It was this. The Crown of *Denmark* had been Elective for above two hundred years in the present *Oldenburg* Family. The chief Power of Electing being in the Nobility, gave them the means and opportunity of capitulating advantages to themselves, as previous conditions to the Election, with every succeeding King, to the despoiling and debilitating of the Crown, and to the prejudice of the other Orders of the Kingdom. None but a Nobleman could buy or possess in his own right any Seignory or Mannor. A Citizen or Burgher was not capable of purchasing more than a Houle, and it may be a Garden and Orchard,

or

or such like slender curtilage. The Lands and Revenues of the Crown were let to Noblemen it may be not to the third, sometimes not to the fourth part of what they were really worth, and yet the King must not Enhance the old Rents, though in the mean time the Nobles rack the poor under-Tenants to the utmost. The Peasants upon the *Danish* Isles were Villains regardant to the Mannors of Noblemen, such as the Civilians call *ascriptitii glebæ*. All publick Offices and preferments were appropriated to the Nobility; there was no room left for a single and unendowed Desert. Birth had precluded Merit, and the privileges of Bloud had forestall'd

the rewards of Vertue. By which constitution, *Denmark*, from an anciently glorious and most renowned Monarchy, had in a succession of some Ages dwindled and degenerated to that State and condition which to avoid offence I forbear to name. But upon occasion of this second War, the better to encourage the Burgers of *Copenhagen* to stand courageously for the Defence of their King and Country, lest the hope and expectancy of bettering their condition under a new Master should prompt them to desert their old, great privileges were proposed and conferred upon them. Such as these: An equal admission to Offices and Honours, as they and their

their Children should render
 themselves capable and deserv-
 ing. A power of purchasing Lands
 and Lordships with the same
 rights as Nobles. The City to be
 one of the Estates of the King-
 dom, and to have a suffrage in all
 publick Councils and Resolves.
 And the Crown is also delivered
 out of the Guardianship of
 the Nobility, being changed
 from Elective to Hereditary.
 So that now in *Denmark* there is
 a more healthful and better
 proportioned distribution of
 strength and nourishment to all
 parts of the Body of that Govern-
 whereby the whole is become
 more vigorous and able to
 withstand for the future such
 rude Attacks and Assaults from
 without,

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without, as had in the late
Wars endangered the Life
thereof.

A VIEW

A
VIEW
OF THE
SUEDESH
AND
Other Affairs, as they now stand
IN
GERMANY

This present Year, 1675.

WITH
Relation to ENGLAND.

*Composed in the Year 1675. when the
Suede was declared Enemy of the
Empire.*

LONDON:

Printed by A. C. for H. Brome, at the
Gun in St. Paul's Church-yard.
M. DC. LXXVII.



A
VIEW
OF THE
SUEDEISH
AND
Other Affairs, as they now stand
IN
GERMANY.

HE who duly reflects upon
the State and Condition
of *Germany* at the time of the
Munster and *Osnabrug* Treaties
concluded in the year 1648.
How the Empire wearied by a
tedious War with earnest long-
ings

ings breath'd after a settlement;
 How the *Suede* at that time powerful in Arms, was courted to a Peace by the proposal of such advantageous conditions, as wanted nothing but the name of a Conquest; may justly wonder, that so wise a Council as that of *Sueden*, should submit all their great Acquisitions, of which for many years they have been in the quiet and legal possession, to the uncertain hazard of a new War.

The *Osnabrug* Treaty is the *Magna Charta* of *Germany*, and was enacted a perpetual fundamental Law, and pragmatic Sanction of the Empire. But the *Suede*, upon his late Invasion

sion of the Marquisate of *Brandenburg*, having in full Diet been declared Enemy of the Empire, all the concessions in that Treaty respecting that Crown, are become like the old Charters or Donations of *Charlemagne*, sealed with the Pommel of a Sword to be warranted by the Blade.

The Risque the *Suede* now runs is further heightned upon this following consideration. *Sueden* has enlarged her Border upon all the neighbouring Princes. Upon the *Pole* and *Moscovite* by *Liefland*, *Esthen* and *Ingermanland*. Upon the *German* Empire by the Dukedom of *Pomeran*, Principality of *Rugen*, Bishopricks of *Bremen* and *Verden*.

den Erected upon this occasion into Dutchies, and by the Lordship of the City and Port of *Wismar*. Upon the *Dane* by the several Provinces of *Holland*, *Sconen*, *Bleking*, &c. Some or all of which Princes do but wait a favourable conjuncture, wherein to attempt the reinstating themselves into those Possessions, which the Accidents of War and other fatalities have extorted from them.

It may also be noted upon this occasion, that by vertue of the aforementioned *Osnabrug* Treaty, some of the then Friends or Allies of the Crown of *Sueden* were devested of part of their Patrimony, the better to accommodate

modate the *Suede* in laying his new acquired Possessions more close and contiguous. Thus the Elector of *Brandenburg* quitted *Stetin* and other Rights which he had in both the *Pomerens*. The Duke of *Mecklenburg* resigned *Wismar*. 'Tis true both these Princes received a compensatory Exchange or Equivalent, such as the necessity of the Public Peace constrain'd them to acquiesce in; the first by the Bishoprick of *Halberstad*, the latter by that of *Ratzenburg*, but it must be granted too that the Rents and Revenues of Inland Dominions are not so improveable as those arising upon Sea-Ports.

Now.

Now if we impartially compare the circumstances of Affairs in this present year 1675. with those in the year 1648. it will be the easier to make an estimate, whether *Sueden* could rationally hope to better the conditions of the *Osnabrug* Treaty, or whether their future expectancies can in any just proportion countervail their present hazard.

In the former *German* War, it was no small advantage to *Sueden* to be esteemed the Head of the Protestant Cause and Interest in *Germany*; this brought them many Allies and Adherents, and made their thin and tattered Regiments swell into numerous and well appointed Armies. But
in

in the present War there is nothing of Religion so much as pretended in the Case. Nay the more immediate quarrel that *Sueden* now has, is with the *Brandenburger*, the *Dane* and *Hollander*, who though of different persuasions, are clasp'd together with the *Suede* in the same general concerns of Religion. Before the *Osnabrug* Treaty, *Germany* was crumbled into many Factions and Interests, both Religious and Civil. Now the whole Body of the Empire is consolidated and united together against strangers, and some in *Germany* esteem the *Suede* no other. In the year 1648. before the Peace, the *Suede* had more than two hundred Garrisons in *Germany*,
and

and an Army in Field and Garrison of near fourscore thousand men; the far greater number of them foreigners, but all Veterans exactly disciplin'd, and commanded by a Martial Prince extracted from the Palatine family of the *Rhine* (the now King of *Sueden's* Father) who upon that accompt was the more acceptable to the *German* Nation. Now their Army is small and consists of new Levies, their Garrisons few, and by occasion of a long Peace neither so well fortified nor otherwise provided. The *Suede* had then many Allies and Confederates within the very bowels of the Empire. The *Landgrave* of *Heß* had a considerable Army in the Field, which

to

to the very last acted in concert with *Sueden* ; besides the Army of *France* under Marshal *Turenne* in *Alsace*. Now the *Suede* has no other visible Confederate but *France*, so remote, that if the *French* Armies should by the Chance of War be put upon the Defensive, the *Suede* may be lost before *France* can help him. The *Dane* who then stood Neutral, has now declared against *Sueden*. The *States General* then in War with *Spain*, now confederated with *Spain* and the Empire against *France*, and consequently against *Sueden*. I need add no more to encrease the wonder I before mentioned, the difficulty would rather be to salve and allay it, were it any thing to my purpose, who

who pretend not to have the Key of the Cabinet, or to be able to penetrate the secret of the *Suedish* Councils; only this is obvious, if a lesser Crown condescends to become the Pensioner of another more great and opulent than its self, it will be exposed to temptations of being sometimes warped from her proper measures. Besides the influence of the Example, for if the Crown receives gifts the Ministers will be less modest in refusing them, when tendred.

Add moreover, the inlets into a War are so many and so easie, but the outlets so few and difficult, that a wise Prince and Council obliged upon remoter
 considera-

considerations to a shew and appearance of Arms, may insensibly and unexpectedly be involv'd in a War, which they never in good earnest intended. And he who proposed to himself to advance his Arms to such a Point and no further, may to his grief find the unruly beast of War so ungovernable, as not to be mannag'd to certain stops and bounds, but to transgress them all, and sometimes throw the Rider.

And as a Prince may gradually and insensibly be engaged in a War which at first he intended not, and afterwards be further engaged in it, than he either proposed or desired ; So

H

'tis

'tis ordinary for the consequents and effects of such War to redound to the prejudice of other Princes, who had no participation either in the beginning or the progress thereof. Thus if the *Suede* (for I suppose 'tis no offence to put such a Case, because what's laid at stake no man can call his own) I say, if the *Suede* should lose all in *Germany*, and be turned back again over the *Baltic*; This would redound greatly to the mischief of *France*, whose Interest it is to maintain the *Suede* in *Germany* as a check and counterpoise upon the House of *Austria*, the hereditary Enemy of *France*. But this consideration reaches not *England*, because that House has in this last Age
 been

been under so sensible a decadency, that it gives no longer any just ombrage or jealousy as formerly, of any affectation of an Universal Monarchy.

But yet it may greatly concern *England* into what hands the Chance of War may throw those places the *Suede* now possesses. Should the Elector of *Brandenburg* invest himself in the Ports of *Pomeren*, and by that means erect a third power upon the *Baltic*: Nay should the Duke of *Curland*, whose little Dutchy is a Fief of the Crown of *Poland*, and who of later years has affected to put in for a share in the *Baltic* under the Title of Admiral of that Crown, though his de-

sign always suppressed by the early jealousies of those greater Powers of *Denmark* and *Sueden*; should he I say by help of the favour and consanguinity he has with *Brandenburg* (for that House married a Sister of that Elector) added to the countenance and assistance of *Poland*, establish a fourth Power upon the *Baltic*: All this would not sensibly touch *England*; for a Reason intimated in that Answer, which a Duke of *Burgundy* once made, when it was objected to him how he was no Lover of the Kings of *France*, his Reply was, on the contrary he was so great a Lover of them, that whereas there was one King of *France* he wished there were many.

But

But if the *Dane* should seize the Ports of *Pomeran*, or possess himself of *Stade* and *Boxtehude* in the Dutchy of *Bremen*; or should he so far profit upon the present Conjunction, as to reinstate himself in the opposite Bank of the *Sound*, which was taken from him in the year 1658. every of these will alter the Case in reference to *England*; For 'tis evident that the dividing the Banks of the *Sound* betwixt the two emulous Crowns, as it was done by the *Roschild* Treaty, is greatly to the security and benefit of *England*. To our security in time of War, for in case of a War betwixt *England* and *Holland*, if *Denmark* incline to *Holland* (which is not unreasonable to be suppo-

fed) *England*, in friendship with *Sueden* whilst possessed of one Bank of the *Sound*, will in despite of the other two Confederates maintain the Trade into the *Baltic*, and fetch from thence those materials which are necessary for the apparel and equipage of her Shipping. To our benefit in time of Peace, and that in reference to Trade and Commerce. For 'tis a Gain to the *Dane* to enhance the duties of the *Sound*, but 'tis the Interest of *Sueden* to oppose it, because *Stoekholm* and all the Ports of *Sueden*, except *Gottenburg*, being within the *Baltic*, whatever Duties are imposed upon forein Ships in their passage through the *Sound*, are a burden upon the

the Trade of *Sueden*. The same Reason holds for the *Elb*, where the *Dane* has *Glucstad* upon the one Bank, the *Suede Stade* and *Boxtebude* upon the other. If both Banks should come into *Danish* hands, this would more immediately concern *Hamburgh*, and so much the rather because of the old pretensions the Kings of *Denmark* as Dukes of *Holstein* have upon that City. But it will remotely concern *England*, for it will be in the power of the *Dane* to exclude us from the Trade of the *Elb* whenever he pleases. Which perhaps he will not do. But the Assurances of Princes are not to be founded upon the *Will* not, but upon the *Cannot*.

Add

Add to all this, that as it is the Interest of *France* to maintain *Sueden* as a ballance upon the House of *Austria*, so 'tis the Interest of *England* to preserve *Sueden* as her proper counterpoise against the Confederate Naval Strength of *Holland* and *Denmark*.

The case thus standing, and *Sueden* having changed the figure it lately made, when the Mediation of that Crown was proposed in concert with *England*, by entring into the War and becoming Party; There is no Prince in *Europe* to whom it can so properly appertain to advance the great work of a Mediation, as to his Majesty of *England*. The Pope not so fit to interpose in these *German* Controversies, as
upon

upon other considerations, so particularly upon this, because by the *Munster* and *Osnabrug* Treaties, which are the Basis of the Peace of *Germany*, many of the Lands of the Church and other Ecclesiastical Rights, were Alienated and made Secular. Which the Nuncio at that time was so far from consenting to, that he entred a public Protest against it, and *Innocent* the tenth declared all the Articles relating to Religion to be nul and void. The *Venetian* State remote, and though admitted Mediator in the *Munster* Treaty betwixt the Empire and *France*, yet was not so in the *Osnabrug* Treaty betwixt the Empire and *Sueden*. Besides the Councils of that Republic face most

most to the *Levant*, neither does she intermeddle in the Affairs of the Western Princes so much as in former Ages.

Whilst the King of England besides his Power, Interest and Authority, seems to be selected by a coincidence of several Providential circumstances to undertake this Work, not only Pious, but Safe, Honourable and Profitable. Safe, because all the Interessed Princes court the Friendship of the Mediator ; Honourable because the mediating Prince becomes the Arbiter of others Controversies ; Profitable because his Ministers being upon the place, and privy to the secrets of the contending Parties, have the opportunity of espying advantages for securing

curing and promoting their Master's Interests.

But as in Naturals so in Civils, 'tis Time ripens all things : And 'tis the Wisdome of the Head which directs the diligence of the Hand to gather the fruit in its proper season. The last War of Germany was of thirty years continuance, and the Peace was seven years in treating, reckoning from the Preliminaries agreed at *Hamburgh*, to the conclusion of the Peace at *Munster* and *Osna-brug*. This according to humane conjectures seems not of that duration. But mediating Princes are most welcome and successful, when the Parties are wearied with the War, as those

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those Physicians are most happy
who come in the declension of
a Disease.

FINIS.

Errata.

Page 117. for revolution read revulsion.
p. 124. for defensive read defensible. p.
143. for left read lost. p. 151. for Govern read
Government.

py
of

ion.
c. p.
read